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The character of the spirit is not usually designated, but those specified include a wolf, a hawk, and the spirit of the mythical personage who made the deer. A pregnant woman may hear the cry of a certain small hawk (*dd̨úddá*). Later the child pines, or if strong, he may often lie down as though fainting. A shaman called to sing over him, tells the mother, "When you were first pregnant, you heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; that is the hawk which entered at that time." Sometimes the shaman may succeed in carrying off the hawk spirit; then the child will live.

Despite the fact that the sun, the rocks and trees, etc., are addressed in prayer, spirits are not generally localized. Only one such is spoken of.

Long ago the mythical people made spirits and put them somewhere, so that one can dream of them, get them, and thus become a shaman. Spirits are not about here in the trees, rocks, etc., but one is in an ever-flowing pool (*sháalnyakitsilyo*, black water in a round place) located in a little canyon beside the Colorado on the Walapai Reservation. It has a rough wall around it. People do not approach it, but when they look down on it from above, it wells up, although it is not hot. Strewn about are shell beads, arrowheads, deer bones with incised decorations (but no turquoise), placed there by some prehistoric people. Neither Walapai nor Havasupai offer to it.

Several mythical beings are referred to in myths, such as Pagiyógá and Pagiyóvá. It seems doubtful that these are prayed to nor do they address the two culture heroes in prayer.

Spirits are the cause of illness, although this belief does not preclude that which holds minor ailments due to natural causes, infringements of taboos, or to illy-defined magical practices. A dead shaman may send his spirit into the body of one who corruptly imitates his songs; the creator of deer sent his into the man who wantonly slaughtered the animals; the hawk-spirit enters the body of the unborn child.

There are perhaps three types of shaman: those who cure (*gloiyé'*) weather shamans (possibly called by the same word), and practitioners of a sort (*gladmad*)[1] who specialize on fractures, wounds, or snake bites, in following the deer, etc. Apparently all of them dream, but only the first have familiar spirits. These three types are fairly distinct, but not exclusive; for example, Doctor Tommy, who divides his time with his Walapai father's people, and who performs most of the cures (including those of snake and scorpion stings) claims to bring rain and to have medicine to destroy the whites. Only men can be shamans.

Shamanistic power is acquired by inheritance or by dreaming. In 1918 there were three men recognized, Bob and Doctor Tommy, who both

[1] Compare Yavapai *pa-armaha*, shaman (Corbusier, 333)

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cured, and Rock Jones, a weather shaman. Bob had his spirit from his maternal grandfather, he is reported as having said. When he was about to die he instructed Bob and presented his spirit to him. In late years Bob suffered severely from tuberculosis, coughing up blood, and with it lost his spirit—and his influence. Manakadja, the head chief, called in a Yavapai shaman for his daughter, which angered hot-tempered Bob to the extent that he refused to leave his spirit to a relative. Usually when a shaman is sick his spirit stays with him and cures him, but Bob's spirit left him, because he willed it, and so he died. His rattles and medicines (?) were broken and buried with him. Rock Jones inherited his powers from his maternal uncle, whose specialty was also rain making. Sinyella's maternal grandfather was a shaman, but no one inherited his power. Perhaps there is only a tendency toward inheritance;[1] so far as it goes the attitude is that toward personal property.

In the final analysis, power comes through dreams: all three types of shaman dream, and it is also probably necessary for those who inherit spirits to dream. Rock Jones, for instance, dreamed of lightning and thunder, saw the pouring rain and hail, and dreamed that he sang to make it rain. Now he uses that song.

Only the curing shamans (*gîôiyê'*) have spirits; in one instance it was stated that a shaman temporarily had more than one. Sinyella said that his maternal grandfather frequently dreamed of the wolf. When he sang for the sick the wolf spirit (*hatâgwi'lsdmdg*) could be heard out in the darkness. Then his own familiar spirit went outside, whereupon the wolf spirit entered his body and performed the cure for him. When the cure was completed this wolf spirit left him again. This man was also a weather shaman.

The important shaman is the one who cures. Dreaming comes before practice. Mark is said to be trying to become one, but is not proficient yet. His gourd rattle is placed at the head of his bed: when he wakes he seizes it and tries the song he has dreamed. During the half-year since this practice began he has sung over his sick nephew, Jess, many times, but he has not attempted sucking out the disease. In 1919 I was told that Little Jim was becoming a shaman. He had seen a spirit in his dreams but it was afraid as yet to enter his body. My informant stated that it was too early to know whether Jim would be a success. In 1921 he was a full-fledged shaman, though not prominent. His first patient was Melvin in October, 1920 (p. 279).

[1] It is doubtful that there is any significance in these instances in the inheritance from a maternal relative.

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The shaman is called in by a relative of the sick man.[1] He performs by night in the camp (never in a sweatlodge), singing over the patient, and sucking out the disease which he exhibits. The characteristic attitude while singing is with the clenched knuckles of the left hand held against the forehead, the right hand holding the gourd rattle, while the trunk is slowly twisted from side to side. Relatives and friends gather to shout as the shaman may enjoin them.[2] 755

Once about 1900 I [Sinyella] was sick with a white man's sickness, fever, and I nearly died. Rock Jones and another Havasupai shaman, A'mal (suck), sang for me but did not cure me. I nearly died. Then two white men came down the Walapai trail. I said, "Tell them to look at me." They had two kinds of medicine which they gave me: "Give it to him three times a day." I took this and got well quickly. [649]

A'mal used a gourd rattle and sang over me where I lay close to the fire; he sang thus four nights. He shut his eyes as he sang; then his spirit could see, yet he could see with them too. The first or second night he applied his mouth to my body so that his spirit could bring out the sickness in my body. The spirit went into me and looked all around; it made me shake hard then. It went back down his throat with a gulp. The spirit said, "This sickness is a white man's sickness: the white doctor made that sickness a long time ago. It is very bad; that is why I cannot get it. It is too small, I could not find anything tangible; it only makes you shake and cold and hot together." Another night the spirit said the same thing.

All my relatives were there, men and women, and many friends. None slept; they shouted, and told the shaman, "Be strong and see what you can do." He said to them, "Do not sleep; stay awake; shout and help me, and I will do the best I can." They called him their relative and he felt fortified thereby.

Rock Jones is not a doctor; he only knows about making rain. But sometimes sick people want him to sing for them; he does not suck. He can tell about thunder, lightning, wind, hail, snow and such things. [791]

Doctor Tommy treated Lina for aches, particularly for fever in the head. He sucked her forehead directly with his lips. His spirit drew out the trouble which he showed her; little white worms like threads, about a centimeter long. He also instructed her husband to cut her hair short; this cured her somewhat.

Jess, who has consumption, consulted Bob, who sang over him. He said that if Jess heard a little clicking noise in his chest, he would be worse, otherwise he would recover. Jess does not know what Bob sang about.

Little Jim's first patient was Melvin. He sucked the lad's eyes and other painful parts. [My informant did not know if he exhibited any object.] He ascribed the ailment to the fact that ten or more years ago the boy's father, Sinyella, went among the Navaho trying to learn their shaman's songs. But he erred in repeating the words: bad spirits made his eyes fail. They have been with him ever since, although he stopped singing these songs as soon as he sickened. Nevertheless his oldest son, Lanoman, and a younger, Melvin, were also afflicted.[3] This is always the case, that if a man makes errors in singing a dead shaman's songs, the latter becomes angry and sends his spirit to make the offender sick.

[1] He is not given turquoise as among the White Mountain Apache.
[2] Cushing, (a), 532.
[3] All three have aggravated cases of trachoma. [164]

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them to us in his hand. He did this two nights. Then the boy said he wanted to eat more, and got up and walked; he said he was a little better. The shaman made him well quickly. All the Havasupai were down there in the Basin; it was time to gather pĭñon nuts. The shaman sang for four nights; then he said, "The boy is getting better, I do not want you to stay down here; you might as well take him to wherever you think you want to stay. We will all go there with you and then I will go back home." So we moved to Rowe's Well Canyon again [near Grand Canyon Station]. The shaman again sang four nights and said, "I have taken out all the diseases he had; there are no more in him now. I will leave you now and return." When the shaman was ready to leave, I gave him a blanket and a buckskin. I felt glad because he had cured my boy. Some men had killed plenty of deer and they gave him meat because they were glad. He had too much for one horse, so we lent him another to carry it. So the boy got well. 755

He showed us the hail, but he told us about the lightning, clouds, snow, and wolves: "I got these, but they cannot be readily seen. My spirit can see them perfectly, however. I will just show you the hail, so you can see it is all right." When he sucked out the wolf he staggered around and ran out into the darkness. We heard the wolf howl. The hailstone was round and white; it looked like hail. He also sucked out my grandfather's spirit, which he showed us; a little white man, with a head but no limbs.

Whatever their opinion of the shamans they believe in the efficacy of their cures. Possibly we may suppose the shamans share the belief, for they are said to cure members of their families as well as themselves. At any rate the penalty for malpractice is death. Smiley's father, a Walapai shaman, was killed because he was held to have spitefully and magically caused an epidemic (p. 238). An unsuccessful shaman, particularly one who had failed for a long time, might be killed by a relative of a patient who died. 756

Weather shamans are about on a par with those who cure; possibly they are called *gĭθiyĕ'* like them. They obtain power by dreaming of clouds, thunder, lightning, and of great rain and hailstorms. One who dreamed this continually would sing of what he had dreamed, using a gourd rattle. After a long time he would feel that he knew all about it; then he would try to produce rain. 791 ● [787]

Rock Jones is a weather shaman; Sinyella does not know whether he has a spirit. When it has not rained for a long while, he will try to make rain and sometimes succeeds. Sinyella said, "I know that once he made it snow on the plateau; I saw the snow." He sings and rattles throughout the night for four nights to get results. The same informant stated that the singing did not take place in a sweatlodge; yet, on another occasion he explained that the flood of August, 1918 was due to Rock Jones' singing while they were bathing in the sweatlodge. At the moment these two were alone. Rock Jones began to sing about great 791 789

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789 lightning and rain. Suddenly the storm broke, everyone scattered, and
791 the two heard the hail pounding on the lodge.

There is a more extended performance for producing rain. A ring of brush is made, within which men sit in a circle with Rock Jones[1] at the center. At his command they rise (but do not dance) and sing about the white clouds, the big black storm clouds, the lightning and thunder, rain, the wind blowing hard, storm water running on the ground, the foam on it, and so on. When they tire he orders them to sit; then they sing again. This makes rain aplenty (so attests Sinyella, who has taken part); the ground is wet, the grass grows well for the horses to fatten on, all the seeds grow plentifully, and everyone is happy. Rock Jones' hair, face, and body are painted white; this represents white clouds. His face and body are also colored black and red for the storm clouds and the red hue of the clouds at dawn and sunset. For a robe he wears a big buckskin tied by its legs over the right shoulder and hanging under his left arm. He wears moccasins, leggings, and buckskin pants. An eagle tail plume is thrust upright in his hair; to the tip of this the largest, softest down from under these tail feathers is tied. Two similar plumes are thrust crosswise through his front hair like horns. His gourd rattle, a flat one, is painted longitudinally with zigzag stripes of red, white, and black. The other men are stripped to the waist: hair, face, and trunk are painted white. Some also had buckskin for robes.

756 It is not altogether clear that those who are specially endowed to cure snake bites, fractures, and wounds, or to hunt deer, etc., should be classed with the shamans. A man may continually dream of the deer;
224 he sings about it. Finally he hunts and finds that the deer stand while
791 he approaches, for they do not fear him; so he is able to kill many. He informs others who then hunt with him. Such is called a deer doctor (*dqwidá gleámd*). He is good at catching such animals as mountain sheep, jack-rabbits, cotton-tails, etc., but he has no control over foxes, coyotes, wolves, wildcats, or mountain lions. There are various other
756 kinds of doctors, among them, those for sickness (*gwetdeög gleámd*), for fractures (*pakaúd gleámd*), for wounds (*nahámł'dvídjá gleámd*), for stomach trouble (*nundlaidjł gdeámdod*), and for snakes (*dluwł eámd gá*). Both doctor and medicine are called *gleámd*.[2]

Doctors for stomach trouble practise only on infants still in the cradle, who are afflicted with disturbances of the bowels because their

[1] I do not know if this procedure is used by other shamans.

[2] There is a mythical reference to a wind-and-black-cloud doctor (*mátchgá dmdámqd'djá dgł dmdvídj*, "Tear some [black cloud?] off and make it dark," he is told [Spier, (*f*), 113].

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tails dangling at the back. The arms, legs and bodies of other dancers were painted white, or white with contrasting horizontal stripes. These grotesque figures added color to the dance and stirred the imagination with old-time fire.

In this dance, as in the Walapai mourning ceremony, the village crone had a unique part. Mr. James had told us of seeing women rush to the center pole during the Peach Dance, and, encircling it with their hands, whirl madly about it until they dropped from exhaustion. He had been present when several women darted into the center of the circle, screaming, dancing, foaming at the mouth and pulling their hair as they dashed against one another or against the central post, until they fell in a stupor.

If one of these prone creatures blocked the path of the circling dancers, she was dragged by the hair to one side where relatives cared for her until consciousness returned.

The men looked with tolerance on such hysteria but did not indulge in it. As a rule they were rather stern, self-disciplined, but jolly too.

This Havasupai dance may have included some of the ritual of the Ghost Dance, which at one time was the accepted religion of many tribes. It is said to have originated in 1870 based on the doctrines of a Paiute shaman, who claimed to have visited the dead in their far-off home, and learned from them that they would return to join the living. There seems to be very little information available as to the introduction of the cult at this early period or of its influence on the tribes who accepted its precepts. Its value to the cause lay in the fact that it paved the way for the revived Ghost Dance in 1890, which won converts among the Indians from the Sioux in the north to the tribes in California.

The Paiutes were responsible for both its origin and for its revival; the latter came about in a strange manner.

Wovoka, a Paiute, was a young lad when his father, described as a "dreamer," died. The boy, through his work among white people on a ranch, learned some English and gained a little knowledge of the white man's religion. When he was about thirty

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years old, there occured a phenomenon that terrified the Paiutes, an eclipse of the sun. The Indians interpreted the eclipse as an attack by some ferocious monster on their god, the Sun. The darkened sun was a dying sun; fear plunged the tribe into wild demonstrations, shouting, the firing of guns, any act that would frighten the monsterand force him to abandon his wicked purpose.

During this eclipse, Wovoka became unconscious—he is said to have been ill at the time—and was lifted up to the Other World. Here in a place of celestial beauty he saw all those who had died, happy and ageless n their faraway home. While here he was taught a dance which must be performed at stated intervals for five consecutive days. Wovoka returned to earth, recited his experiences among the dead and taught his people the dance, which became known as the Ghost Dance. He instilled in their minds the belief that by performing these dances as instructed, they would bring their dead back to dwell with the living in eternal happiness on a regenerated earth. This seems to have been an effort on his part to incorporate into his native religion the creed of the resurrection as he imperfectly understood it.

Disciples introduced the tenets of this strange religion to other tribes where the ritual of this cult, like that of the peyote, was made to conform to the will of the cult's tribal leader. In their determination to recall the dead, emotions ran high. In some tribes, men, women and children danced wildly, waving their arms, contorting their bodies, until emotional and physical exhaustion caused them to drop unconscious to the ground. While in this state they, too, entered the land of unearthly beauty and peace where they talked to dead friends and relatives.

In other tribes, the center pole held the "power" to transport a worshiper to the Other World. The Havasupai tied eagle feathers at its tip. To induce the trance, a man climbed to within reach of the feathers where he clung until he became unconscious and fell to the ground. When revived by the medicine man, the pole-climber was expected to relate what he had seen and heard in that far-off land.